St. Charles Seminary Library
Carthagena, Ohio
JUN 2 '59

An Exchange of View
—Letters and Replie

THE

Commonweal

The Culture Critics

Wise Men and Gravediggers

by Walker Percy

Room at the Top

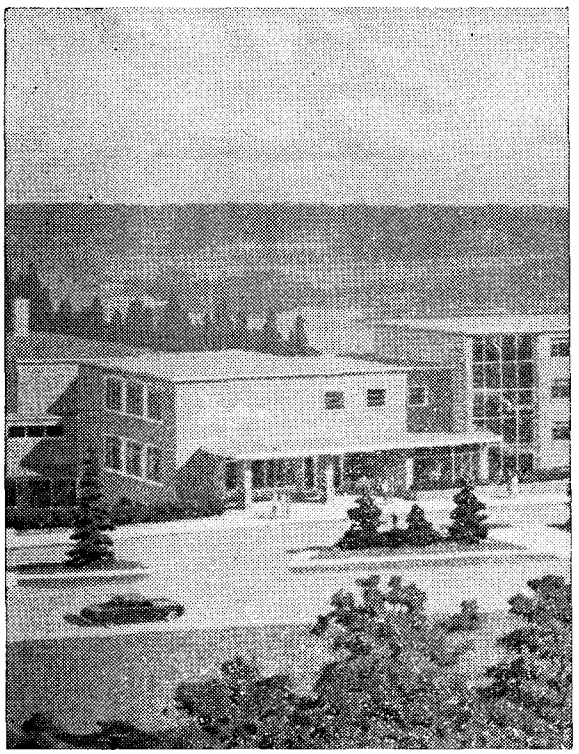
Recruiting for Government

by Donald P. Kommers

CAMUS AS TRAGEDIAN . . . . . by Bernard Murchland
SOUTH AFRICAN STORIES . . . . . by Robert Gutwillig
TOSCANINI'S GENIUS . . . . . by Richard L. Schoenwald
GAUGUIN: A LINK TO THE PRESENT . . . . by Betty Kaufman

Volume LXX, No. 10 June 5, 1959 Twenty-Five Cent

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



CLARKE COLLEGE

Dubuque, Iowa

Conducted by Sisters of Charity, B.V.M.

Fully accredited four-year resident and day college for women

Member of American Association of University Women

Students from 18 states, seven foreign countries

Liberal Arts and Sciences, Teacher Education for Elementary and Secondary Levels

Optional Junior Year study abroad

Social life shared with students from nearby Loras, Catholic college for men

Sixty-acre campus, eight buildings including Fine Arts and Science Halls, Library, Residence Halls, Recreation Center with auditorium, gymanasium, swimming pool

Opportunity to earn while learning, through Campus Positions

Three hours from Chicago by train, 70 minutes by air

Address: Director of Admissions, Box C
1550 Clarke Drive
Dubuque, Iowa

THIS WEEK

Week by Week 243

The Culture Critics
by Walker Percy 247

Room at the Top
by Donald P. Kommers 250

Small, Small World
by John Cogley 253

Communism in the Mid East
by James D. Picton 254

First Touch of Spring: A Poem
by E. H. Templin 255

An Exchange of Views
I—Republic Steel Ads 256
II—"A Dubious Dictum" 257

The Screen
by Philip T. Hartung 258

Books 259

Art: Gauguin, A Link to the Present
by Betty Kaufman 262

THE COMMONWEAL
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16

Editor
EDWARD S. SKILLIN

Managing Editor
JAMES O'GARA

Associate Editors
JAMES FINN
RICHARD HORCHLER

Drama Critic: RICHARD HAYES; *Movie Critic:* PHILIP T. HARTUNG; *Social Action:* JOHN C. CORT; *Paris:* ROBERT BARRAT; *Rome:* GUNNAR D. KUMLIEN; *Great Britain:* MICHAEL P. FOGARTY

JOHN BRUBAKER: *Advertising Manager*

Entered as second-class matter at the post office at Orange, Conn., under the act of March 3, 1879. Printed in the U.S.A. and published weekly at 440 Post Road, Orange, Conn. by the Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc., 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N.Y. MUrray Hill 3-9685.

Copyright © 1959 The Commonweal Publishing Co., Inc.

U. S. and Canada, $8 a year. Foreign, $10. Single copies 25¢

Printed at the Wilson H. Lee Co., Orange, Conn.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE
Commonweal
A Weekly Review of Public Affairs, Literature, and the Arts
THIRTY-FIFTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

week by week

FORGOTTEN MEN

PRESUMABLY most people who view our farm regions from afar are not familiar with the sort of men who work there. It is general knowledge that the number of our fellow-citizens on farms is dwindling steadily at the very time surpluses pile higher and higher. Continually improved strains supply one explanation for this, greater mechanization another. But although a million Americans have been leaving the farm every year, the number of hired farm workers remains fairly constant.

These two million Americans constitute our most neglected fellow-citizens, whether it be on the score of the protection of the law, educational opportunities, living standards, security or public concern. Hence the importance of the National Advisory Committee on Farm Labor and the public hearings it sponsored in Washington last February, now summarized in booklet form (112 East 19 St., New York 3, N.Y.).

Virtually all the participants at this conference are convinced that "America's abundance could and should provide for our agricultural workers . . . a minimum living family wage" together with the "protections of social legislation." Yet few of our hired farm workers enjoy most of the things associated with "the American way of life."

If wages are scrutinized, to begin with, the nature of the over-all pattern becomes painfully clear. In 1957, the last year for which the figures are complete, the average American farm worker earned less than nine hundred dollars, a sum to be measured against the $4656 set by the Department of Agriculture as the minimum for a "modest but adequate" living standard for a man, his wife and two children.

How can this be in our prosperous United States? Where are the usual means whereby many other American workers secure their rights to a decent livelihood? Most of those who labor for hire on our farms have no union to represent them. They do not enjoy the protection of minimum wage and hour legislation, as farm workers are specifically excluded. If they wish to protest against intolerable conditions, there is seldom an agency to which to turn, especially when they are from out-of-state.

AMONG OTHER abuses suffered by these workers are the increasing use of child labor on commercial farms, the hazards of unsafe means of transportation, wretched shelter, the lack of even elementary educational facilities, the prevalence of disease and high child mortality. Yet the existence of such chronic conditions among our farm workers and their families appears to be little known. The memory of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath,* even in its movie version, has grown dim with the passing of the years, even though much of the injustice to the migrants has persisted.

Importation of farm labor, primarily from Mexico, is one of the means whereby big growers keep the labor market depressed; each year nearly half a million *braceros* come to work in this country during the busiest seasons. Yet our own farm workers are chronically underemployed. By setting the wage scale at an unacceptable level, many large growers succeed in securing the certification of labor shortages required for permission to bring in *braceros.* Faced with competition of this sort, unorganized and without legal protection, our migratory farm workers suffer grave abuses.

At the Committee's Washington meeting a Farm Bureau representative gave reasons for excluding farm workers from wage-hour provisions and other protections enjoyed by industrial workers. He spoke of the housing, transportation and other perquisites

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

furnished by the big grower, payment by piecework rather than by the hour, variations in individual output and the shirker problem. He also said that an organized strike of farm workers might mean the wholesale loss of a perishable crop and of invested capital. But who could maintain that the system the man was defending comes anywhere near providing adequate family living standards?

One of the most significant comments came from John M. Seabrook, large-scale producer of frozen vegetables: "If farm wages went up substantially, prices would start up. And, as I say, I think most honest consumers, when they think about it, wouldn't complain about this too much; nobody really wants to think that his food bill is based on somebody else's poverty."

The evil lies bare, and feasible remedies are many. Much can be done through enforcement of existing state and national legislation. One of the greatest immediate needs is social legislation specifically applying to farm workers' wages and hours, workmen's compensation, and unemployment insurance. But such a program will encounter rough going in Congress, with its determined defenders of constituents' interests, until public protest against such injustice is vociferous and widespread.

HOSPITAL STRIKE

NOW GOING ON in New York is one of the most bitter and emotion-laden strikes of recent history. Non-professional workers—nurses' aides, porters, laundry personnel, kitchen help and others—have struck against a group of private, non-profit hospitals in New York, bringing down upon their heads an avalanche of legal, moral and journalistic anathemas, but at the same time rousing organized labor to expressions of solidarity and fervor the like of which have not been heard in decades.

Non-profit hospitals are specifically exempted by both Federal and New York State law from collective bargaining, minimum wage and other labor-management legislation. On the basis of this legal exemption, the New York hospital administrators have refused to recognize the right of hospital workers to form a union and to bargain collectively for better wages and working conditions. The union, Local 1199 of the Retail Drug Employees Union, which declares that it represents eighty per cent of the workers involved, contended that without the right to collective bargaining the workers were "second-class citizens, subject to arbitrary and unreasonable dictation by authoritarian powers" and doomed to "horrible working conditions."

Both sides were adamant, and on May 8, despite court orders against the union president and despite mediation attempts by New York's Mayor Wagner, the hospital workers walked out. Feelings are now running high, with the Greater New York Hospital Association attacking the union president, Leon J. Davis, as "unreliable, unethical and untrustworthy" and with the union replying in kind. One charge by the strikers, eighty per cent of whom are Negro or Puerto Rican, is that the hospital administrators are guilty of "racial discrimination," an allegation immediately denied by the administrators.

Apart from complications such as these, the fundamental facts in the dispute are acknowledged by both sides. The workers have been receiving shockingly low wages—most of them getting from thirty-two to thirty-eight dollars a week, *before* deductions; working conditions are undeniably poor; the workers have no grievance machinery, no recourse in their differences with their employers.

Hospital spokesmen maintain that their own financial straits prevent them from paying higher wages. They are maintaining non-profit institutions, they point out, which are even now operating at a deficit, and it is lack of funds, overcrowding and insufficient staffs which make working conditions so difficult. Unionization would mean strikes, slowdowns and other interferences with the care of the sick, say the administrators, and they cite the Federal and N.Y. State laws exempting them, in view of these facts, from existing labor laws. A strike for union recognition is a strike against the public, they say, and is illegal and intolerable.

The response of other unions to the strike has been unequivocal and dramatic. When it was revealed that the hospital workers were earning less in a week than many union workmen earn in a day, with no overtime, no job security, no grievance procedures, other union groups responded with tons of food, money and pledges of support for the hospital workers. An officer of the Central Labor Council, comprised of eight hundred unions, observed on behalf of organized labor: "You are people on the bottom rung of the economic ladder and you are going to have our help until you win."

The reaction of the community by and large is, not unexpectedly, somewhat different. Most commentators express sympathy for the workers and deplore the salary and working conditions under which they suffered, but—and it is a big but—they condemn the strike as jeopardizing the health and welfare of the public, as penalizing the helpless,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sick and dying. The walkout is termed "a strike against the public" or "a strike against the sick."

We do not accept the issue in these terms. Certainly a strike which endangers public health, and perhaps even lives, cannot be condoned. But who is responsible for this strike? It is much too simple, and quite unfair, we think, to put the burden of responsibility solely or even mostly on the shoulders of the strikers.

In the first place, there is the unjust and inadequate Federal and State legislation which took from these workers the right to bargain collectively and failed to provide anything in its place, failed to establish some sort of machinery to obviate the need of a strike. Then there is the failure of hospital management to recognize its obligations—if not legal, in this case, then certainly moral—to provide a just wage, decent working conditions and even the right to have a voice, through responsible representation, in the establishment of these conditions. It is utterly unjust to force hospital workers to help meet hospital deficits by accepting less than a living wage and by surrendering their right to human recognition in an organization of their choosing.

A strike against the sick is without question a terrible and repugnant thing. But let us not misplace the responsibility for it.

BACKWARD, TURN BACKWARD

TO MANY PEOPLE, the questions about the proper function of a university which have been hotly debated in recent years had a heady air of novelty. But the debates are not completely new. One does not have to look far back even in American life to realize the discussions of today are but continuations of one long unresolved discussion. Only thirty years ago Robert M. Hutchins advanced many of the criticisms that are being made today. And as president of the University of Chicago he was in a position to bring about some of the changes he advocated. Believing that the universities should be devoted to intellectual work, he abolished intercollegiate football and took the University out of the Big Ten Conference. The intellectual attainments of students were recognized not by the accumulation of a certain number of credits but by the passing of comprehensive examinations. These and other radical changes instituted by Dr. Hutchins, against strong opposition, changed the character of the University and gained for it a reputation for intellectual inquiry.

The debates, then, are not new. Are the results of such debates good? Are gains once made firmly established? One example, even a significant example, cannot completely answer such questions. Yet the present situation at the University of Chicago is worth considering. Today, less than nine years after Dr. Hutchins resigned as Chancellor, his plan has been almost totally scrapped. And after paying due respect to the spirit of "radical inquiry" which prevailed during Dr. Hutchins' term, the new Dean of the College, Dr. Alan Simpson, recently said:

"We also have asked ourselves if beauty and brawn do not deserve a place on our campus as well as brains. The idea is not to lower our standards, but to attract a greater variety of Americans who are qualified to meet them. The ordinary American boy, who will only make a million in later life, the ordinary girl, who wants a husband as well as a diploma, are as welcome here as the Quiz Kid."

It would probably be difficult to find a better summation of one stereotype of the intellectual student than is implied here: he is a "quiz kid," apparently ugly and scrawny who, by quirk or choice, is committed to poverty and the single life. This is, possibly, to do an injustice to the statement, for Dr. Simpson proposes that the University, without lowering intellectual standards, will attract beautiful, brawny students who, in later years, will be prosperous or married—and possibly both.

One of the reasons consistently invoked in favor of Dr. Simpson's position—which has, of course, much support—is that a school must have pupils, endowments, financial support. Yet Dr. Douglas M. Knight, President of Lawrence College, said that the greatest danger facing even the small college was not financial collapse but the steady trend toward a national uniformity in culture.

In more vigorous terms, Dr. Jacques Barzun, dean of faculties of Columbia University, has re-

Commonweal Associates

Charter and Sustaining memberships in the Commonweal Associates continue to come in. In an early issue we plan to publish a full report on the 35th Anniversary campaign, including a complete list of all the Associates from the beginning of the drive through those enrolled by June 8. Charter Memberships are $100, Sustaining Memberships $50. Address: Commonweal Associates, Room 508, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cently indicted American colleges for dissociating themselves from intellect in order to provide for "the whole man and the community." Intellectual pursuit is slighted by the emphasis on athletics and social activities supplemented "by a new set of plausible irrelevancies—convivial, psychological and other. . . ."

It is a struggle, obviously, to maintain the university as a place of intellectual inquiry, and a struggle that permits no relaxation.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

JOHN FOSTER DULLES has died. His death is no occasion to appropriate the role of time and pass an apparently objective and definitive judgment on his place in history.

One can, however, honor those virtues which were clearly his throughout his career: his dedication, his courage, his idealism. It is always sorrowful and deeply moving to acknowledge the death of a man who lived by his deepest convictions. May he, after his long labor and his deep suffering, rest in peace.

PATTERNS IN UNEMPLOYMENT

THE REPUBLICANS and Democrats continue to hurl charges and counter-charges at each other over the unemployment question, and there are no signs of an early end to the battle. The trouble is that both sides are right—at least in the sense that the optimist who says the glass is half-full is just as right as the pessimist who says it is half-empty.

On the Republican side of the argument, the latest official reports on unemployment are encouraging. In April the number of jobless fell 735,000, with the total of those unable to find work amounting to 3,627,000—5.3 per cent as compared with 5.8 in March and the high of 7.5 per cent a year ago. Or, to put the matter more positively, the number of those employed during that month passed the sixty-five million mark—to make the highest number ever recorded in any April.

On the Democratic side of the argument, the fact remains that 5.3 per cent of the work force are still unemployed. To make matters worse, unemployment seems uncomfortably concentrated by region and occupation, as well as among non-white, unskilled, and older workers. And areas which have unemployment rates of ten or fifteen per cent can find little comfort in the current jubilation over the decline in the national average to five per cent.

In this connection Washington should give serious consideration to a recent report of the National Planning Association, which indicates that we may be witnessing only the first stages of a serious problem of regional unemployment. The United States is engaged in an economic race with Communism, the N.P.A. report notes, in which automation can be the key to victory. But automation can also create grave problems of unemployment, particularly if it becomes cheaper to build new plants than to remodel old ones, for in that case "not only individuals but entire communities may be bypassed." With automation, the need for labor will be sharply reduced, and if the development of nuclear power progresses as expected, industry will no longer be tied to existing power sources. As a result, "whole communities may need assistance if their inhabitants are not to become victims of the age of automation."

According to Labor Department figures, fourteen areas have been removed from the list of those with "substantial" unemployment, but sixty areas remain on that list. Many of these areas, like the coal fields, are being bypassed by technological change; they have little chance of recovery without a shot in the arm from outside. We are therefore particularly happy that Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell is strongly in favor of help from the Federal government for such distressed communities. Mr. Mitchell is said to have lost several important battles inside the Cabinet in recent months, but this time we hope Congress and his Administration colleagues will listen to his advice.

UGLY IS AS UGLY DOES

WE THINK Senator Fulbright (D.-Ark.) made a valuable point the other day when he warned his fellow-Senators of too easy and too sweeping criticism of United States Foreign Service and U.S.I.A. personnel. Referring to the acclaim given by Congressmen to the best-selling novel *The Ugly American,* which pillories our overseas representatives, Senator Fulbright declared that dangerous and unfair generalizations had been drawn from it. He reminded his colleagues that Senatorial failings were by no means uncommon and that by a similar process of generalization there might well be a book entitled *The Ugly Senator.*

It may be news to the Senator, but such a book already exists—it's called *Congressional Record.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Culture Critics

Western civilization might have had its virtues in the past, but now, according to the professional tremblers, the jig is up

by WALKER PERCY

THINGS LOOK BAD all right. The future is as black as can be, so black that people either have to talk about it all the time or else not at all, and who can blame them? A good deal has been said about the people who don't talk about it at all, who take one look at the bad news on the front page and turn to Ann Landers and the puzzles. Psychiatrists, in fact, have a word for it: selective inattention. But not much has been said about the people who do talk about it.

Some of those who talk about it are wise and responsible men, who are as worried as the rest of us but who know we'll never get out of the fix we're in unless somebody does some serious figuring. But there is also abroad in the land a spirit of what might be called the Weltschmerz of the Cocktail Party. Those possessed by it sound as scared as we are, scareder, but they are betrayed by a telltale gleam in the eye and moistness of the lip. They just got in from Washington where they have a friend who sits three chairs behind Max Taylor at the meetings of the Joint Chiefs. "I happened to see Jack right after the meeting and I said, good Lord, man, what's the matter with you? Your face is as white as a sheet. All Jack would say was, I can't tell you, but I can say this much: I'm frightened." There are the tremblers, and there are the professional gravediggers of the West. Western civilization might have had its virtues in the past, but now, in their eyes, the jig is up.

Thomas Griffith is one of the wise and responsible men. His *The Waist-High Culture* (Harper, $4.00) sounds at first like one more indictment of American culture. These indictments must be pleasant to write, and they make pretty good reading too—many of the charges are true, and anyhow it is always salutary to see Hollywood and Madison Avenue and the exurbs get a well-executed comeuppance. The weaknesses of these books lie not so much in what is said, however, as in what is not said. The indictment is, to a degree, true. But if it occurs to the reader to ask: In whose name are you making the indictment? Now that you have annihilated suburbia, what do you propose in its place?—the answers are noticeably muted. Riesman's analysis of the other-directed man may be offered as a piece of objective sociology which steers clear of norms, but certainly no other-directed man would want to remain other-directed after reading *The Lonely Crowd.*

IF IT IS not "good" to be tradition-directed, inner-directed, or other-directed, what is the "good" category? Who is the fourth man? He is, of course, the mature man. The fact is, however, that the mature man of Riesman and Fromm and the Overstreets is a somewhat shadowy fellow himself. We don't, to tell the truth, hear too much about him.

The trouble is that popular sociology is open to an occupational temptation. The objective posture of the social scientist is apt to be turned into a superior vantage point from which negative judgments are pronounced upon society in the guise of objective observations. In Vance Packard's latest book (*The Status Seekers,* David McKay, $4.50), for example, there are many fascinating items about the growing status-consciousness of Americans, the rather frightening lengths to which people will go to have the right address and the right antiques in their homes. Such phenomena as these and the social credentials of Northeastern executives (being white, Anglo-Saxon, and Episcopalian) are sociological facts. It is all too easy, however, for the cruising social critic to take the final step back and see all human motivations as a rat race

Dr. Percy, a frequent contributor to The Commonweal, is a physician living in Louisiana.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of status-seeking and backbiting. In the heady atmosphere of social science even the most universally accepted social norms become suspect. When Vance Packard observes that among Air Force personnel S.A.C. pilots have achieved high status and that among churchgoers a madame of a house of prostitution is awarded a low status, it looks as if sociology has exposed yet another piece of monkey business. Yet it would be more straightforward either to assent to society's estimate of the S.A.C. pilot and the madame or else take exception to it, rather than to relegate all of society's values to a vaguely disreputable limbo of ordinary people who act in an ordinary way as against those of us who are privileged to understand them.

But if olympianism is a defect of much of social-indictment literature, it is not a fault of *The Waist-High Culture*. Griffith is an acute social critic and is as aware as anyone of the tendencies toward banality and the second-rate in much of American life. But if he sees the well-advertised faults of suburbia and the executive suite, he has a second sight which gives the book its peculiar value. He sees people, and he never forgets that what must in the last analysis be confronted is not a trend or a social class but a particular fellow living in a particular house and finding himself in a particular concrete predicament.

It is no doubt legitimate, for sociological purposes, to speak of a member of the upper-middle who has his house done over in Early Federal with decorator's Picassos as status symbols. But let us not forget that this same class-member may have saved a comrade's life in battle, suffers from sinusitis, has a sick wife, and works like a dog to pay his debts. He cannot really be understood by a sociology of motivations but only by a larger view of man which takes account of what a man is capable of and what he can fall prey to. There is not really such a thing as a consumer or a public or a mass man except only as they exist as constructs in the minds of sociologists, ad men, and opinion pollsters.

The Waist-High Culture never succumbs to the passion for the abstract (perhaps it is Griffith's reporter's training which saves him; he is now foreign news editor of *Time*). He has heard the indictment often enough and does some pretty expert indicting himself, but he confesses to "a nagging doubt about the validity of the indictment." The American people are a vital people, he reminds us, and they are no more satisfied with the stuff that flows into their living rooms than their critics. The suburbanite may in a sense have been seduced by the pleasures of the middle, but it would be nearer the truth to describe his predicament as one of blighted intentions, the satiety and discontent which follows seduction. "If guilty, they are not guilty as charged, and are at least entitled to the old frontier verdict: 'guilty, but not so dern awful guilty.' "

THE AMERICAN intellectual does not escape the indictment—or rather it is his escape which is charged against him. But if his performance has been a sorry one, it is only the other side of the same coin of mediocrity. The rest of us are disappointing in our docility before mass culture, and the intellectual is hardly more helpful in his self-promotion to an elite. It is the hardest thing in the world to see the intellectual in any other framework than the class lines he himself has drawn: us free creative individuals *vs* you slobs, or us normal red-blooded Americans *vs* you crummy eggheads.

In his book, Packard succumbs a bit to the temptation and polishes off the intellectuals with some diverting remarks about status-seeking eggheads in Upper Bohemia. Griffith gives them a rough time too, but he does so from the sense of loss of the intellectual's contribution and what he sees as the latter's self-imposed isolation from the community.

The alternative to isolation is not necessarily togetherness. In any case, what is so distressing about isolation and togetherness is the impoverishment of both, the sense of needless loss which cannot but come over one when he considers either the alienated intellectual or the stratified commuter. If any one theme runs through these quite different social critiques, it is the *poverty* of the classes, not only the down-and-outers, and indeed not so much the blue-collars, but the middles and uppers, both upper country club and upper Bohemia. It is the remarkable discrepancy between the opportunities at hand and the felt meagerness of life as it is lived. The status-seeker is such a poor man and so unnecessarily so. But he is no poorer than the jackdaw of the salons who is "up" on everything and in love with nothing, who knows what Edmund Wilson thinks of the Dead Sea Scrolls but has never read St. John's Gospel (apologies to Griffith).

Griffith began to have his nagging doubts when he heard for perhaps the hundredth time what he calls The European Speech. It took place in the Piazza San Marco. His cultivated European friend extended a hand to the cathedral and the campanile and began to go on about how beautiful and restful it was, how we Europeans move among beautiful things and have time to enjoy art and music. But in America—the hurrying and the scurrying. Where are you going? Why do you bustle so? Yes, it is true: the American must always nod. "Our hurry *was* mad, our newness was often slapdash, and here was great beauty." Yet there is something wrong with The European Speech. The two things don't really go together: the leisureliness of the café life and the building of St. Mark's Cathedral. The cathedral had been built by ambitious and bustling men, not by café sitters. It would be easy enough to launch a counterattack on cultivated Europeans as a race of museum keepers, café philosophers,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and America haters, but Griffith does not do this. He likes and admires them, for one thing. Nor is he much interested in their rather superficial charge of hustle-bustle. He is concerned to make a far more serious self-accusation.

THE SOBERING fact is, and this is no European or Hamiltonian saying so, that there has occurred a decline in the quality of American life. "—never in the history of the world has there been such a proliferation of the second-rate." The decline, moreover, has occurred in direct proportion to the extension of the suffrage. In 1791, when the electorate amounted to less than five per cent of the American people, the *Federalist Papers* were written in the form, not of a treatise in political science, but of pamphlets to sell the Constitution to the public. Men were described therein as universally venal, ambitious, vindictive, and rapacious. The *Federalist* authors had some very clear-eyed and hardheaded notions about the weaknesses of human nature and the attendant dangers to the republican form of government. But now the first rule of politicking and pamphleteering is to flatter the little man—though this very phrase expresses a contempt and cynicism which the *Federalist* authors would never have subscribed to. Attack malefactors of great wealth or bleeding-heart liberals but don't lay a finger on the voter, especially not the independent voter who despises politics and breaks away from his T.V. once every four years to vote for a man—because he looks sincere on T.V. It is this very flattery which the *Federalist* authors warned against.

Yet it is still possible to prescribe democratic therapy for democratic failings. Certainly the answer is not a restriction of suffrage. We may defend quality, says Griffith, but we will never defend privilege. The fact is that the great issue is still in doubt: democracy has by no means proved that it provides a hospitable soil for quality in politics, science or art. What makes the stakes so high is that it could so provide for quality and in a fashion never dreamed of by the aristocratic patrons—or it could fail so utterly as to justify the famous remark in *The Third Man* about what six hundred years of democracy produced in Switzerland: the cuckoo clock.

Griffith's book might be said to present, not the solution, but the dilemma of the educated American—assuming that the latter is something more than a "social unit," that he is also a man who is to a degree aware of his own predicament. Both Griffith's and Packard's books are valuable pathologies of the American sickness. Yet one can't avoid the impression that Packard thinks he is treating a skin disease and is very sure of his diagnosis while Griffith knows that the sickness is a lot deeper and a lot obscurer. Packard's diagnosis is status-seeking and class-stratification, and in the last chapter he prescribes his cure: we ought to cut it out. A $12,000-a-year white Protestant junior executive living in a development of $12,000-a-year white Protestant junior executives ought to get to know Jews and Negroes, poets and milkmen. It would make for a more interesting life. Sure it would, and it would be a good thing all in all. But the question is whether or not this new intergroup group would not and does not habitually fall prey to its own strain of the virus: not status-seeking and social stratification maybe, but a compulsive other-directedness and an antic nonconformity which may conceal a spiritual wasteland more desolate than Levittown. The trouble goes deeper than one's choice of friends or cars. It is, as Griffith knows very well, a religious dilemma in that ultimate goals are involved. To say so is by no means to prescribe religious conversion as a social technique. For "religion" is itself apt to be conceived in terms specified by the very worldview for which it is prescribed as a cure.

The predicament is evident enough. It is more or less generally recognized, even by sociologists, that despite unprecedented cultural and material advantages, the lives of a great many people in America and the West (not to mention the Communist countries), often the very people in a position to enjoy the fruits of Western culture and prosperity, have sunk to unprecedented depths of paltriness and banality. Psychologists have described a new syndrome, "destination sickness," a disillusionment exemplified by the Marquand character who realizes his ultimate goal and finds waiting for him the station wagon and the country club. And the dilemma is felt as such. The victim knows he is victimized. He is aware of the blight of his intentions. He is aware moreover of the fecklessness of the usual prescriptions. Griffith must know in his heart of hearts that there is no use in calling for a recovery of "clarity of purpose" or a return to the vigor and integrity of the *Federalist* authors, no more use than Packard's naive injunction to stop status-seeking and social-stratifying.

GRIFFITH is more acutely aware than Packard of our cultural dependence on the Judeo-Christian ethos. "Even those of us who live with no faith live on

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

its accumulated moral capital," he writes. And certainly those of us who profess to live with faith are the more at fault for our failure to demonstrate a necessary connection between faith and the good life. Much of the so-called religious revival in American life looks uncomfortably like the very status-seeking and hard sell so acutely diagnosed by both Packard and Griffith.

Nevertheless, a final remark is in order. As Griffith has decided, after much reflection, that there is something wrong with The European Speech, we might, after much listening, append another nagging doubt. There is something wrong with The Ethical Secularist's Speech. As Griffith observes, the latter usually considers himself to be as commendably motivated as those with faith, and often is. To these good folk, who live so securely on the accumulated capital of the Christian faith, the core of faith itself is apt to appear as an anomaly, easily dispensable and in fact dispensed with one or two standard objections. It seems pertinent here to raise a question, not about the objections, but about the posture from which the objections are mounted. The point is that even though the objections be answered, nothing is really changed for the objector. All that business about God, the Jews, Christ, the Church seems no less dispensable—queer—whether it is true or not. Yet our ethical friend who is aware of the sickness might do well to consider the possibility that the dislocation of his times is related to this very incapacity to attach significance to the sacramental and historical-incarnational nature of Christianity. Instead of chewing over the same old objections, that is, he should consider the more pressing problem: how is it that even if these things were all true, could be proved, it would make no difference to me?

For what is being assaulted today in the literature of alienation is this nice old secular height from which he mounts his objections. But as the assault goes on, the questions which occur to us begin to change. It no longer seems so appropriate to ask: why do people do these things—seek status symbols and the miserable pleasures of the middle? as it is to ask: why should they not do such things, or anything else?

And when, inevitably, the question of religion is raised, it should be remembered that the relation of Christianity to Western culture and one's own culture is much too radical to be settled by one's fancied aversion to this particular dogma or that particular churchgoer. Indeed, such a good man—better than we, we admit first off, since this matter of comparative worth seems to bother him—might sooner or later come to see that, culturally speaking, our posture is something like the cat in the cartoon who ran off the cliff and found himelf standing up in the air. Maybe he can get back to earth by backing up; on the other hand he might be in for a radical change of perspective.

RECRUITING FOR GOVERMENT

Room at the Top

by DONALD P. KOMMERS

DURING A PUBLIC address in 1947 President Truman lamented the fact that the government faced a critical shortage of "men who possess the capacity to deal with great affairs of state." In 1955 the second Hoover Commission identified this critical shortage as a "national problem." As late as July, 1957, Stewart Alsop reported that twenty-one businessmen consecutively declined an invitation to succeed John B. Hollister as head of the International Cooperation Administration. Nine leading bankers were also reported as "not interested" in an assignment as Under Secretary of the Treasury.

This scarcity of political executives who are both available and qualified is, therefore, a major problem for the present administration. Of the original Eisenhower Cabinet appointees, only Arthur Summerfield and Ezra Taft Benson remain. Except for the resignations of Secretaries Durkin and Dulles, the departures of most of the other Cabinet members seem to have been prompted by an impatience to return to their professional careers.

The Hoover Commission estimates that there are between seven and eight hundred top political executive positions that need staffing at any one time, over half of them at the Cabinet and sub-Cabinet levels. The Commission reports that at least ten per cent of these are vacated each year because of retirement or resignation. The average tenure of service, less than

Mr. Kommers, who has previously contributed to this magazine, is a member of the faculty of the University of Wisconsin.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

three years, scarcely affords the time to acquire the experience that produces effective leadership. Yet, today, as one professor of public administration put it: "The survival of the American system of government may well depend upon its ability to attract and to hold the ablest members of our society."

The criteria for selecting the ablest executives are not easy to formulate, for leadership in politics, as elsewhere, is not a function of a given set of personality traits, nor does the political executive have to be an expert possessing highly specialized skills and talents. Indeed, the Hoover Commission insists that there should be a clear "division of labor between political executives and career administrators." Technical proficiency is the function of the latter. The political executive's function should be largely limited to making final decisions in matters of broad policy. His task should be one of advocating, explaining, and defending "the President's program before the public and Congressional committees." This suggests that one of the first requisites of the effective political executive is an adequate and realistic conception of the governmental process.

EVERY NEW executive soon discovers the staggering complexity of this process. He immediately finds himself the head of an organization which involves an exceedingly involved web of interrelationships. He finds among the divisions and bureaus he directs groups which are, in actuality, going political systems in themselves, with fixed patterns of relationships with other government agencies, congressional committees, staff experts, and extra-governmental interest groups. This process differs considerably from the more orderly patterns of corporate life. Nor do government organization charts necessarily furnish clues to the locus of power in a department, bureau, or agency.

This framework of operations, then, is a "given" which the political executive can only accept. To be an effective leader he must first penetrate the surface of these operations and understand the mysteries of power behind them. He must fully understand what holds his political world together. He must accurately gauge the demands, needs, and expectations of the interest groups with which he must perpetually deal. He must be aware of the probable reactions of Congress to his decisions and know how to meet these reactions. He must be able to temper the demands of Congress and his clientele with the wider interests of the inarticulate and unorganized public which will be affected by his policy decisions. It is here, perhaps, that his abilities will meet their greatest test. Finally, the responsible executive must perform these functions within the general policy framework marked out by the President.

President Eisenhower's selection of upper-echelon businessmen to fill the top political posts in Washington seems predicated upon the questionable hypothesis that success in the business world is readily translated into political success. It can be argued that the businessman brings to government service values and norms, appropriate as they may be to the corporate world, which may undermine his role as a *political* executive.

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., for example, notes that the businessman, even in politics, is often prone to think in terms of "class" and not of "nation," "private profit" and not of "social obligation," "business dealings" and not of "war," "security" and not of "honor." He concluded that "businessmen have essential contributions to make as individuals and as producers of goods" but not as "ultimate makers of public policy."

OTHER REASONS stand in the way of recruiting highly qualified executives to public service. For historical and cultural reasons politics in the United States is not an esteemed profession. The technocracy of the twentieth century and the premium it sets on the value of the organization man has engendered a dangerous "apoliticism" in our society today. The conjunction of this trend with the Jacksonian heritage of popular suspicion for the professional, together with its exaltation of the competence of the common man, has aroused distrust for authority and government.

There is, thus, a strong cultural bloc against the enlistment of our best minds to public service. This resistance is strengthened by the position of the President. The President is elected by a temporary coalition of shifting and differing interests. National politics demands that the President look to those major groups which are at least partially responsible for his election when selecting men for top policy-making positions. The President's patronage obligations frequently result, however, in his not getting the best qualified men for the job. The prudential and practical necessity of appeasing the factional elements within the party, as well as extra-party groups, often results, moreover, in the appointment of political executives not wholly sympathetic with presidential policy directives. Herein lies the explanation for the frequent failure of the President's Cabinet to provide a common front on policy by publicly disagreeing with one another.

Besides these difficulties inherent in recruiting top grade political executives, there are certain personal problems which give pause to every office holder, and which explain the difficulty in getting and keeping superior personnel. The reasons most frequently cited for the prevalent reluctance to enter public service are inadequate compensation, congressional harassment, inability to abandon private pursuits, insecurity, and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fear of legal sanctions which may arise out of possible violations of conflict of interest statutes.

The Hoover Commission states, too, that many companies, law firms, labor unions, and farm organizations often consciously strive to be non-political and, therefore, do not encourage their personnel to become involved in controversy by accepting government employment. These organizations do not wish to disturb working relationships with a politically heterogeneous clientele. This aversion to politics seems to be a growing characteristic of modern organizational life.

FOR THE MAN in early middle age on the way up in his career, the entry into public service may also mean hard sacrifices in terms of money and promotions which can hardly be offset by the perquisites of public office. Since the fluctuations of American politics assure no political executive of indefinite tenure, temporary service may result in severe occupational disabilities. The businessman who enters government, for example, incurs the risk of losing his pension rights and his place in the corporate structure. It is not uncommon for an executive to return to his corporation and find himself serving under a former subordinate.

On the other hand, there are countervailing considerations which prompt individuals to risk these liabilities by accepting high positions. For some, public service is deemed an excellent way to close a successful private career. Others see in high public office a prestige symbol bestowing recognition, power, and status. For others, the office serves as an excellent opportunity for widening contacts expected to reap subsequent personal benefits.

These motivations for public service suggest a further difficulty inherent in the current recruitment process. Public service is often not valued in and for itself; it is looked upon as an instrument for the acquisition of values quite unrelated to one's mission as policy-maker. When, then, a high governmental post has served its utilitarian purpose, its holder may feel free to hand in his resignation and leave. This is not to imply that political executives are not performing their roles with a good conscience. It does imply, however, that such attitudes toward public service lead to relatively brief tenures of office.

ANOTHER FACTOR, found in the nature of the office itself, may intensify an executive's reluctance to remain on the job *after* his appointment. The newly appointed official not infrequently experiences frustration, if not disillusionment, when he discovers that he cannot carry out his policies with ease and precision. Since decision-making does not always flow from the pinnacle to the base of the organizational pyramid, the new appointee often finds that he is the bearer of a Presidential policy directive at variance with the predominant values and interests within his own department or agency. Consequently, his function will involve a greater amount of bargaining than the giving of orders—a frustrating experience for the executive who construes compromise and adjustment as defeat and failure.

In addition, from two to five Congressional committees normally exercise some degree of control over every government agency. As a result of perennial Congressional oversight, political executives are continually "on the spot." They can be called up at almost any time to defend a policy, support an action, or justify a dismissal. The buffeting which an official often experiences in these encounters also seems to contribute to the distaste for high public office.

Yet the Brookings Institutions Round Table has indicated that those executives who have stayed on the job long enough to comprehend and adjust to the governmental process find it an exhilirating experience and are often disappointed in returning to the routine of their former occupations. For the man who knows the labyrinthian ways of politics, no game is as exciting and self-satisfying as national politics. Implicit in this observation is the suggestion that perhaps the replenishment of talented political executives is dependent upon increased exposure to political life generally.

The Hoover Commission has offered certain suggestions precisely along these lines, which are worth considering. First, the Administration in power should establish a Presidential Advisory group to study ways in which it might help in recruiting top talent. The Commission recommends further that the administration earmark a portion of executive posts as training positions in order that prospective appointees may gain the requisite political experience before assuming direct responsibilities. Second, political executives in office are advised to retain an active role in State and community affairs. Third, the commission advises that political parties should see to it that political executives who return home are absorbed into party affairs. Parties should also take the initiative in molding party members for future public service. Finally, the Commission recommends that employers in private life should make it possible and attractive for their talented personnel to serve in political positions, even at the cost of interruptions to their professional careers.

It is not hyperbole to suggest that national survival in a time of crisis may well depend upon an adequate fund of executive talent ready and able to discharge national policy with competence and dispatch. It would seem, however, that this will be possible only with a new and widespread awareness of political life. The implementation of these few suggestions would be a significant advance in the direction we must go in order to have a proper functioning democratic polity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SMALL, SMALL WORLD

JOHN CROSBY, the syndicated television columnist, recently complained out loud about the dreadful state of our most massive mass medium. Mr. Crosby is not alone. No one who takes television seriously can feel satisfied with its programming.

The network hierarchs themselves do not seem to take much pride in their product. In most cases, in answer to their critics, they do not even try to defend the intrinsic merit of the material ground out; their argument, rather, is that drivel is what the people want—and drivel is what the people will get until they demand something better.

The people seem to be in no mood to demand anything better. In many places in the U.S., listeners have a choice of four channels to switch on, at any given hour. If, as the rating polls seem to indicate, popular taste operates at the low level the networks cater to, what is Mr. Crosby's beef? Aren't the networks doing their duty when they give most people what most people want and more than their duty when they sneak in more substantial fare from time to time for the "special audiences"? A mass medium, T.V. executives remind us frequently, is aimed at mass tastes, and mass tastes have never been very cultivated. Why berate the networks? Blame society, or the schools, or something, but not the T.V. industry.

Mr. Crosby, though, is not at all sure that the public's taste is so hopeless. He seems to think that the public can cultivate a taste for whatever is offered it. If popular taste is as bad as the industry says it is, then the industry, as the "mass medium" (of what?) must have some responsibility for it. Television is as instrumental in creating tastes as any other factor in society. For its spokesmen to excuse themselves by putting the blame on the people is as illogical as an educator's saying that he does not teach the classics because his students' taste has never gone beyond the comic-book level.

It seems to me that the broadcaster's responsibility is much greater, more acute than the journalist's, for reasons that are purely technological. Anyone who wants to put out a newspaper or magazine and can afford to, is free to open his shop. But this is not true of broadcasting. Until television moves to ultra-high frequency broadcasting and the possibilities for multiple channels are analyzed, the number of television outlets will be extremely limited. In theory the available channels belong to everyone; no one has any more intrinsic right to use them than anyone else. Still only one broadcaster can use any given channel. In granting him this exclusive right, the Government properly attaches some strings. It demands that the channel be used in the interests of the people as a whole and lays down certain minimal conditions to be fulfilled. The most notable of these is the "equal-time" rule which applies in political broadcasting.

Television, then, is a private industry using a public domain for purposes partly private (profit) and partly public (education, communication and entertainment). By the nature of things, it seems to me, industry has as much need for a dedicated, professional sense as the nation's physicians. That professional sense might easily have been developed if it were not that the television industry, again by the nature of things, had not been called upon to do two almost contradictory things. It was supposed to educate, communicate and entertain, and at the same time sell the products of those who pick up its bills. Moreover there is a much greater overlapping of these twin goals than in publishing.

This means that the gentlemen of the television industry seem to be charged with an impossible task. They are asked to make television education so delightfully innocuous that the program will qualify for the hundred percent acceptability which is the commercial sponsor's ideal. It can not be done. Education therefore is either put out of mind entirely or put off to some unlikely hour—six in the morning or early Sunday afternoon—when no hardheaded sponsor would invest in time anyway. Television is asked to inform the public about issues that concern the public, but the public is not interested enough in being informed to justify a sponsor's putting up the cash to see that it is. So when television does inform, it is usually briefly at odd hours; when it turns over prime time to public issues it takes bows for graciously fulfilling what should be its normal duty.

There remains, then, entertainment. T.V. *can* entertain and sell deodorants at the same time. If it takes the lowest common denominator of entertainment, it can even hope for the universal acceptability which sponsors hold up as an ideal.

The result is that T.V. is short on education, short on communication and long on entertainment. The more innocuous the entertainment, the better. A mass audience, stupified by a steady diet of quiz shows, situation comedies and westerns, will not complain. Those who do complain often sound like spoilsports, disturbers of the peace which the industry has settled for. But I say, let them disturb this phony peace. Let them prod the industry's conscience until it develops a professional code akin to the Hippocratic oath. John Crosby may be the industry's best friend. It should listen to him.

JOHN COGLEY.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Arab nationalism and Communism are joined in a life-and-death struggle

Communism in the Middle East

by JAMES D. PICTON

GAMAL ABDEL NASSER has been developing a brand of anti-Communist attack that would put to shame a Fourth of July orator in America. Communists—and he doesn't single out Middle East Communists—are described as "ungodly," "atheistic," "agents," "apostates" and "sowers of hate and dissension."

The attacks on Communism began in Nasser's Port Said speech marking the second anniversary of Anglo-French evacuation of the Suez Canal. At that time he attacked Syrian Communists only, but the implied attack on other Middle East Communists, particularly those in Iraq, was apparent to all. Even Khrushchev was constrained to make a rebuttal, largely by implications, but these were not lost on the Arabs. It was wrong, said the Russian leader, to attack Middle East Communists; they, too, were fighting for liberty and Arab nationalism.

The following day *Al Ahram,* a leading Cairo daily, had a front page editorial on the subject written by a Nasser confidant, Hassanein Haykal. In it Khrushchev was told, in so many words, to mind his own business and not to interfere in internal Arab affairs. The next day Russia's ambassador in Cairo was on a plane winging for Moscow. The result? No more comments from Russia on Middle East Communists.

In view of the Iraqi army revolt, the fat now appears from the Communist point of view to be right in the fire. But although Communism as a doctrine is being pilloried in Nasser's U.A.R., the immediate objective is clearly Middle East Communism. Whether under these circumstances the leaders of the Soviet Union will be able to contain themselves is something that will be worth watching. If they can hold their tongues, it will be a tribute to their understanding of Middle East politics. For if international Communism utters any word or makes any gesture now, it is very likely to come under direct criticism from the U.A.R. and its leaders.

In this connection one only wishes that U.S. policy out here had shown a little restraint in the past. When American-Arab relations became tense, a representative of the State Department was often sent out to make a direct contact with the concerned governments. This is quite reasonable in certain circumstances, but when Arab emotions are running high, it is a mistake to provide a handy trigger for those emotions. Aside from the fact that diplomacy is logically the work of the ambassador on the scene, his continued presence in a country makes him far less conspicuous than some official flying in from Washington.

BE THAT AS it may, the vigor of current attacks on Communism in the Middle East comes as a bit of a surprise. This is the case even for those of us who have long been predicting this turn of events.

Most Arabs appear to be really annoyed with the "peace partisan"-type Communists who are supporting Kerim Kassem in Iraq. Communism itself has no real support in the Middle East, at least at this time. The most devastating criticism of it here is, to translate directly from Arabic, "They don't know God."

Communists could not now survive on their own merit in any Arab country I have been in (which excludes Iraq). Communism feeds on nationalist fervor, which, in turn, thrives on an ancient Arab clannishness that continually distinguishes between "brother" and "foreigner." Without the whipping-boy of Western imperialism and Zionism, Communism's days in the Middle East sun would be numbered, and this will be even more true when Arab governments push forward the necessary reform and development programs.

On this score the only fear in my mind has been the possibility of a *coup d'état* by a small faction in an Arab army, backed by a few devoted and really ruthless Communist civilians. A combination like that might be able to suppress the opposition that would rise against Communism. The chances of success of such a combination would, of course, be greatly enhanced if Arabs and the West continue to claw at each other as they have been doing.

NASSER IS genuinely the spokesman of the masses, who cannot be relied upon, and of the middle classes, who, by Middle Eastern standards, can. His

Mr. Picton is an American journalist who has for years lived and worked in the Middle East.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attacks on local Communism greatly reduce the chances of a Bolshevik takeover, at least outside of Iraq. As far as that country is concerned, after years of very firm control by previous governments it is not surprising that many Iraqis gravitated to Communism, for the Communist groups were the only ones able to survive in opposition during the Nouri El Said days.

The current attacks on the Communists will not only unite and strengthen the anti-Communist forces inside the U.A.R.; it is even possible to foresee improved relations with Jordan, Lebanon, possibly Sudan, and maybe even Tunisia. This is especially likely in the case of Jordan.

The thing to note here is that the United States has absolutely nothing to gain from a disunited Arab world. Nor does it profit from long-term support of unpopular governments. The West's differences with Arab nationalism are mainly a matter of short-term national interests. Fears that Arab oil and communications will be cut off from the West are not taken seriously by those who observe Arab nationalism on its home field.

The most important struggle is now going on between Arab nationalism and Arab Communism. A way of life is being battled over by nationalists and Communists, and the struggle is gradually emerging into the open. The side on which the West belongs is obvious. Arab nationalists and Western democrats are struggling for many of the same goals, even though they are at different stages of development.

The Russians seem to grasp the idea that the quickest way to make the Middle East Communist is not by open and unyielding support of Arab Communists. Is it too much to expect that America measure its Middle East policy in terms of the larger struggle that is under way, just as the Russians are doing? But if we are more interested in having a big say in Middle East affairs right now than in working for a democratic way of life, then both we and the nationalists have a long, bitter struggle ahead. What is worse, Communism, which is anathema to democrats and nationalists alike, may in the end wind up on top.

HOW IS THE West to support Arab nationalism without having its interests irresponsibly trampled on? There is no use trying to minimize the fact that here the West will need all the genius and technique it can muster. The task will be easier, however, if one thing is understood: in all the important battles for a way of life, Arab nationalists and Western democrats are strong allies.

This is not to say, of course, that there are no real differences. Arabs are not Westerners; they have their own way of looking at things and expressing themselves. Before passing judgment, one has to understand the Arab mentality or the most frightful errors can be made, noble intentions notwithstanding.

Jordan, for example, may have to prove its nationalism by attacking Western imperialism. What will be America's reaction when the Jordanian press calls the United States an imperialist exploiter who gives money to Jordanians only in order to enslave them? Will America go on demanding publicity for its aid? Or will it do as the Russians do in the Middle East and demand no "strings" whatever.

In short, will America expect any obvious form of *quid pro quo* in connection with assistance to Arab governments? If it does, the open friendship we are all hoping for will be pushed even further into the future.

No matter what the West does, Arab criticism can be expected. The best we can do is to remove all unnecessary opportunities for abuse. Certain things unpopular with the Arabs can never be compromised by the West, and the Arabs can be expected to grumble about these things—our associations with Israel, for instance. This we cannot help. But we should beware of unnecessary public statements that help only the Middle Eastern Communists.

If, however, America behaves circumspectly, continues to provide aid for useful and productive development projects, and keeps on bringing Arabs to America for study, better times can be expected than have recently been witnessed in the Middle East. If we really want to help the Arabs in their struggle against the lures of totalitarianism, this is the way to do it.

First Touch of Spring in the *Plaza Mayor*, Madrid

Here ancient arches
Crutch up arcades.
A street car lurches

On rickety rails
Where kings fought bulls
And queens caught smiles.

Flat-eyed old men
Limp out to cough
In a puddle of sun,
No smile, no nap,
Both hands clasped-front,
They sit cane-up

And soldiers dart out
And a girl darts in,
The cane-men sit
In the brief stone-sun.

(And the ancient rickety barometer reads
Always the same: "Tiempo variable.")

E. H. TEMPLIN.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

An Exchange of Views

I—Republic Steel Ads

Long Beach, Calif.

TO THE EDITORS: The Commonweal of March 6 carries a back-page advertisement, excuse me, "message," by Republic Steel. As I regarded the horse which illustrated its theme "Inflation can easily become a runaway horse," and mindful of the needed revenue the Commonweal's coffers, I thought of another theme, "Timeo Danaos. . . ."

The "message" states: "Inflation is caused by a lot of things. But one of the most important is rising labor costs without a corresponding increase in productivity. The reason: 75 per cent or more of the cost of what you buy is for labor." *Secundum* American Iron and Steel Institute.

I know that they cannot be referring to the hire paid to union labor, for according to the Senate Judiciary Committee's Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly (data cited in *The Progressive* of March, 1959), the strike settlement of 1956 gave the union a package equivalent to $2.50 or $3.00 per ton of steel. Immediately the industry raised prices $8.50 a ton, then in six months added $5.00 more, and in July, 1957, tacked on another $6.00—a total price rise of $19.50 in less than a year.

I know that they cannot be referring to the productivity of U.S. Steel, which, in 1956, shipped twenty-three million tons of steel, for a net profit of $348 million, but in 1957, when production *declined* 2 per cent profits rose to $419 million—a 20.4 per cent climb.

They must be referring to *non-union labor costs,* for

1. After the strike settlement of 1956, U.S. Steel granted its 48,000 non-union employees increases averaging *37 per cent more than those conceded to union employees, and*

2. In 1955, Bethlehem Steel's (net profit: $180 million) sixteen-man board of directors voted itself compensation totaling $5,683,709. In 1956, (net profit dropping to $161 million) the sixteen-man board of directors voted itself compensation totaling $6,566,327. Thus the average compensation to each officer-director increased from $355,231 to $410,395.

3. In 1956, of the eighteen highest paid men in United States industry, *eleven* were officer-directors of Bethlehem Steel.

I agree with the "message" of Republic Steel: It *is* time to stop this senseless spiral!

A. C. GERMANN.

New York, N. Y.

TO THE EDITORS: It is my opinion that your Republic Steel ad series is blatantly reactionary, anti-labor, class-war propaganda. Furthermore, it is dishonest.

How many steelworker readers have you? And if it is not an appeal to steelworkers to lower their wages —in order to get back our vast, lost, export trade in barbed wire (?) that has always been such a significant part of our gross national export product (?)—then what is it? By the way, how much barbed wire did we ever export even in a good year? What, by the way, were the vintage years for barbed wire—in the vineyards of Eugene Grace? And how interesting that Republic Steel should have chosen barbed wire as the symbol of our national decline.

But much more interesting is the choice of Vladimir Petrov. Who is this Comrade Petrov? Is he a Party member? Or just a fellow-traveler? He's dressed neatly enough—in a proletarian sort of way. Does he make barbed wire?

How much Russian barbed wire do we import? Do we import any Russian barbed wire? Do we import more West German, say, barbed wire than Russian barbed wire? Or Japanese?

The American steel worker, (Joe Doakes?), earns four times 56 rubles. But seven times the X number of yen the Japanese steel worker earns. What's *his* name? And why not picture him—against a backdrop of a Shinto shrine, as long as we're dragging in the religious angle. But why *didn't* Republic Steel use a Japanese theme? In terms of dollars and cents—and after all, what else counts, really (?)—the Yellow Peril is greater than the Red Menace, and . . .

Oh, I get it. The Red Menace! Those subversive unions again. Conspiring against the American Way of Life. That's why there are five million unemployed! All these steelworkers supporting their families on $120 a week—before taxes! Such subversion! In the way, of course, that Republic Steel executives with their five and six digit salaries plus expense accounts and stock deals and all the rest are not subversive. Anyone can see the difference. Especially if he understands the class war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Well, I'll spare you any more heavy-handed irony. I don't like the Republic Steel ad series—a lot. I think it is dangerous. This is no time for conservatism, let alone reaction. The world is exploding.

And as a little gesture, I ask that you cancel my subscription immediately. JOHN STANLEY.

REPLY

THE SERIES of advertisements in question frankly argues Republic Steel's side of the wage-price dispute. Would anyone imagine it would do otherwise? And if the arguments are in fact overly simple and one-sided, the remedy would seem to lie in the kind of criticism given it by Mr. Germann—although we have no doubt that Republic would think his letter as distorted as he considers their ads. But this is, we think, the kind of exchange on public issues that is vital in a free society. Mr. Stanley's position, on the other hand, strikes us as far from persuasive, and there are several points that seem to us worth making in connection with it.

First of all, on this as on any responsible publication, advertisers do not set editorial policy. Indeed, in the interests of fairness perhaps we should note that neither Republic nor any other advertiser has to our recollection ever tried to influence our editorial policy as the price for continued use of the magazine as an advertising medium.

Secondly, this magazine is not published for children, nor even for a mass market. We consider our readers quite capable of evaluating different points of view on difficult questions. Here we would include those of Mr. Stanley and of Republic Steel on the issue of prices, wages and inflation.

Thirdly, whatever our own or Mr. Stanley's opinions on the question of steel prices and steel wages, we consider the issues involved complex ones, on which men of good will can and do disagree. Mr. Stanley's objection to the publication of Republic's arguments would have more merit, it seems to us, if the workers involved were unorganized and defenseless, with no voice to speak for them; this is not the case here. While the United Steelworkers do not have the corporate wealth of Big Steel, they are nonetheless a well-established organization and are themselves now engaged in a national advertising campaign arguing their position.

Lastly, and to our mind most importantly, in these circumstances it seems to us that we would be false to this magazine's record as a free journal if we followed Mr. Stanley's wishes and refused to publish Republic Steel's ads. Although the problem seldom arises, it is true that our advertising pages *are* closed to certain items—pornographic material, say, or anti-Catholic or anti-Semitic books, to cite a few obvious examples—but the Republic Steel ads do not seem to us at all comparable. On occasion the role of censor may be a necessary one, but it is never one we assume with relish. In an instance like this, on which Mr. Stanley would have us substitute our own judgment for the consideration by our readers of one side of an important socio-economic argument, we would reject the role completely. THE EDITORS.

II—"A Dubious Dictum"

Madison, Wis.

TO THE EDITORS: The *Barkus* case (mentioned by John Cogley in his Here and There column on "A Dubious Dictum," April 17) caused great excitement among all but lawyers, who if asked would have stated that the "double jeopardy" aspect of the case involved a new wrinkle, perhaps, but hardly a departure from what had been the law. Mr. Cogley, seeking underlying subtleties, was not concerned with the "double jeopardy" aspect of the case, but sought to call the reader's attention to a different departure. In so doing, Mr. Cogley showed he was somewhat less knowing in legal matters than he is in other fields.

The positivistic tone of Justice Frankfurter's dictum, namely, that law is based on "the conscience of society," is hardly the novel departure Mr. Cogley thinks. Positivism has reigned over natural law "transcendental revelation" for several decades now, and shows few signs of being unseated by its natural law rival as the dominant jurisprudential view.

Moreover, it is not fair of Mr. Cogley to equate the court's awareness of the "conscience of society" with the taking of a Gallup Poll. The court is still concerned with the Constitution (based on a sort of 1789 Gallup Poll of the upper class when one thinks about it) as informed by present-day conditions. "Society's conscience" is not the "weak reed" Mr. Cogley thinks it is when, as Justice Frankfurter says, a "disciplined" court treats that conscience with some "detachment." Because the court is detached, "society's conscience" at any one period, such as the McCarthy period, does not overpower the court. The court is concerned with "society's conscience" over the long pull—from 1789 forward and asks, what have most Americans over most times thought was right? Using the question "what have most people over most times thought right"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

should be familiar. Answering that question is one of the ways one can discover what turns out to be natural law precepts.

There are few differences between the "long pull positivist" and the natural law adherent. Perhaps "[Mr. Cogley's] hope [that he has] misunderstood Justice Frankfurter . . ." is well founded.

DONALD G. HAGMAN,
University of Wis. Law School.

REPLY

New York, N.Y.

TO THE EDITORS: My knowledge of the law is no more extensive than it should be, but I have long been aware of the fact that positivism is today the dominant philosophy of American courts. To say this, however, is not to grant that Anglo-American law itself is a product of positivism. To go that far is not only to falsify history but to belittle the source of the public conscience which the present positivists depend on.

What bothered me most about Justice Frankfurter's dictum was that it turned the modern jurists' *modus operandi* into a juridical principle.

It is probably true, as Mr. Hagman says, that for the present and immediate future there will be few practical differences between the long-pull positivists and natural-law adherents. But it is far from inconceivable to me that jurists of the future will invoke the Frankfurter dictum to legalize invasions of personal liberty which would certainly not be countenanced by the natural-law doctrine but might well find solid support in the "conscience of society."

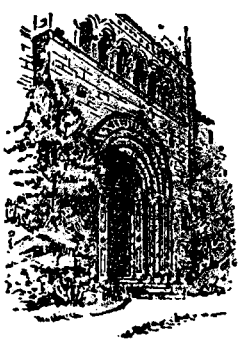
When that conscience is no longer informed by natural-law doctrine, as it happily still is in this country, but, by a strange reversal, the law itself is determined by what most people think, we may expect anything. I should have thought everyone would have learned at least that much from the brutal history of the past three decades. JOHN COGLEY.

CHESTNUT HILL COLLEGE
Chestnut Hill
Pennsylvania

Conducted by the Sisters of St. Joseph

Accredited Catholic college for women. Liberal arts and Science.

For further information write to the Registrar.



Prospective students should make early application

THE SCREEN

WHAT MOTIVE?

AS LONG as it sticks to kidding motivation research, "Ask Any Girl" is very amusing, but when it dwells on plot its froth wears thin. The story starts brightly enough with Shirley MacLaine hopefully arriving in New York like so many other single girls in search of a career or a husband, and preferably both. She soon finds that her situation while searching is no bed of roses: her suitcase is stolen; she lives at the Albermarle Hotel for Women, where she meets some other attractive girls but where competition is keen; the only men she meets are wolves. Later when she works at an advertising agency run by two brothers who specialize in motivation research, Shirley falls for the younger, playboy brother (Gig Young), who doesn't give her much of a tumble; so the other and more business-like brother (David Niven) agrees to help the ambitious girl with some research on Gig's dating habits.

Shirley MacLaine, who has sparkling eyes and a nice sense of comedy, plays the lead role under Charles Walters' direction with appropriate touches of whimsy, naiveté and tough, down-to-earth humor. The role, however, as developed in the script by George Wells, based on the novel by Winifred Wolfe, is too persistently reminiscent of the professional virgin in "The Moon Is Blue," and the jokes built around her rely too often on similar *doubles entendres* and off-color wisecracks. Niven and Young as the brothers, Rod Taylor as an ardent suitor with no enthusiasm for marriage, and a bevy of beautiful girls give Miss MacLaine good support in these artificial situations; but even the New York atmosphere is phoney in Joe Pasternak's slick production. Most laugh-worthy in "Ask Any Girl" is its satire. The picture should have concentrated on that—but perhaps it was too busy applying its own definition: "The ultimate in motivation research is hitting a man beneath the level of his awareness."

PERHAPS a little motivation research would also be good for the French, who have sent over a couple of films made by good directors not working at their best. Andre Cayatte, who likes to prick an audience's conscience, as in such serious movies as "Justice Is Done" and "We Are All Murderers," has now come up with "The Mirror Has Two Faces" which superficially examines the personal problems of a plain and physically unattractive woman who has her face made over after ten years of marriage. The proposition itself is interesting, but the cards are so stacked against the woman in the screenplay written

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by Director Cayatte and Gerard Ouray (who also appears in the film as the plastic surgeon) that the whole thing becomes a contrived melodrama.

The cast is good, especially Michele Morgan, as the homely but sensitive wife who becomes a beauty, and Bourvil, as the self-centered husband, a boor and a miser who objects to the operation and thinks his wife should be satisfied with him, her two children and their home dominated by his equally mean mother. In a series of well-directed scenes, Cayatte illuminates the principals and the people surrounding them; and while these details are interesting at first, they become repetitive after a while, and unfortunately not even the made-over wife wins our sympathy. "The Mirror Has Two Faces" started out with a good idea but apparently didn't know where to go with it.

THE OTHER French film, "Heroes and Sinners," is a sort of existentialist exercise about expatriates gathered in a port town of an independent republic on the west coast of Africa. I think Yves Ciampi, who directed the picture and wrote the script with J. L. Bost, meant to show the depths to which disillusioned and tired war heroes fall. His main characters are a former Free French pilot (Yves Montand) and a former member of the Luftwaffe (Curt Jurgens). Montand has a bag of rough diamonds that he hopes to sell; Jurgens, working for Montand's smuggler-boss, hopes to recover the diamonds; and as far as I could make out, practically everyone else in Free City has an interest in those diamonds.

In the carnival atmosphere of Free City are gathered as sordid and decadent a bunch of characters—Negro and white—as were ever collected in one movie. The heat is oppressive; morality is at a low ebb; and no one can trust either his mistress or best friend. As Director Ciampi goes on and on, giving examples of the sweating ex-heroes and sinners from a wide variety of countries cheating and doing each other in, the film almost becomes a satire on itself. I don't think that's what Yves Ciampi had in mind, for along with the vivid portrayal of decay there is a great deal of serious dialogue about war and the loss of ideals. No doubt the finale is meant to have a sort of Sun Also Rises symbolism, but by that time the film has sunk too low. It should have kept its original French title: "Les Héros Sont Fatigués."

PHILIP T. HARTUNG.

BOOKS

Examination of Camus as Tragedian

CAMUS. By Germaine Brée. Rutgers. $5.

By BERNARD MURCHLAND

TRAGEDY IS the human situation in any given extremity. There can be no tragedy without extremes any more than there can be love without destructiveness (as Dostoevsky understood so well). It is the genius of the tragedian to purify human destiny by marking off its antinomies, its contradictions, its redoubtable polarities. Through its ability to portray extremities, tragedy is superiorly equipped to show forth the limits of human nature upon which the sense of tragedy is based.

These thoughts came to mind as I read Germaine Brée's discussion of Camus as a tragedian in her new book. She well notes that "as a playwright Camus has always thought mainly in terms of tragedy." And she goes on: "What, in a modern context, is the real core of tragic experience in our time? What form does our *hubris* take and what is the nature of the antagonistic forces which tear our humanity apart? In what terms can we formulate the great spiritual battles of our time? In what elevated language, natural yet worthy of tragedy, can these struggles be expressed? In what great new characters and situations, devoid of strain and posturing, can they be embodied?" And finally: "Camus' dramatic adaptations are not, therefore, merely a marginal part of his work; they are connected more or less closely with his search for both a tragic substance and a tragic form indigenous to our time. In the prefaces to these adaptations Camus stresses that his role consists essentially in his search for a certain form of language. . . . The search for the language of modern tragedy is one of Camus' main preoccupations as a dramatist. . . ."

These remarks are among the most penetrating Miss Brée makes in her study and as perceptive as anything yet written on the French writer. For I think he must be considered, not only in his plays (in a certain sense the weakest portion of his work) but in all of his writings, as essentially a tragedian working out the mighty mission, *mutatis mutandis,* of the famous tragedians of the past. Most critics are fond of the theory that there have been only two golden ages of tragedy: that of the fifth century before Christ and that of the late Renaissance. They are reluctant to grant the literary expressions of our age (so charged with the raw materials of tragedy) even a remotely comparable status. Yet I think one ought to be careful about generalizations in this respect. Camus' novel, *The Plague,* strikes me as being a fine tragedy, similar in many ways to Euripides' *The Trojan Women.* In both cases an extreme crisis meets its match in the human heart, defeat fails to crush the one last citadel of hope, courage holds its head high above the prevailing

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

calamities. This is the stuff of which tragedy has always been made.

Miss Brée establishes herself as a superior critic in underlining the tragic effect of Camus—even though she elaborates upon this insight only in respect to the playwright. There are other superior qualities to her book, however. For example, her access to previously unavailable sources has enabled her to bring more critical depth to her work. Her friendship with Camus, too, aids her critical craftsmanship. Miss Brée offers us a full documentation of Camus' childhood (how recurrent the childhood influence is in modern literature!), his school days, intellectual influences and progressive involvement in the complicated, and later war-torn, world about him. She then proceeds with a discussion of his novels, plays, meditations, short-stories, essays and journalistic writings. Throughout she manifests a striking and even tender eye for detail. For instance, she notes the parallel between Meursault's death (in *The Stranger*) and the closing pages of Stendhal's *Red and Black* —an obvious parallel when mentioned, but one which most critics would overlook.

But I think the book has one serious flaw. In her introduction, Miss Brée notes: "My own approach to his [Camus'] work is essentially literary." Yet she examines Camus' fictional work (that is, his novels and short stories) in terms of psychologico-philosophical analysis and value judgments. It is all very well to tell us what a work means—what personal experiences of the author influenced it, how it relates to the problems of our time, its existential ambient, and so forth. But none of this is sufficiently respectful of the proper esthetic structure of a literary work. Neither biography, nor sociology, nor philosophy is the final clue to the meaning of artistic expression. Art has a specific inner form, its own dynamics and laws which must be determinative of any critical evaluation. Miss Brée succeeds somewhat better when she speaks of Camus' dramatic work. And of course her method is well suited for elucidating reflective writing like *The Rebel* and *The Myth of Sisyphus.* Her treatment of these complex works is a feat of admirable lucidity.

Too, I would made a minor criticism of the manner in which Miss Brée organized her chapter divisions. They are to some extent unwieldy and permit unnecessary repetition to creep in. Finally, I do not think it was necessary to refer to the French titles of Camus' works. Most of them have been translated into English. Withal, *Camus* is the most satisfactory study of the evolving French writer to date.

Range and Depth

THE ZULU AND THE ZEIDE. By Dan Jacobson. Atlantic-Little, Brown. $3.75.

By ROBERT GUTWILLIG

DAN JACOBSON, South Africa's best writer, has already offered abundant evidence that he is a master of that subtle, treacherous and financially unrewarding form, the short novel. *The Trap, A Dance in the Sun* and *The Price of Diamonds* were all concerned not only with inter-racial relationships or the lack thereof, but the more crucial relationships between man and man, man and wife, man and his environment, and finally the most important and difficult relationship, that of man with himself. *The Zulu and the Zeide,* Mr. Jacobson's first collection of short stories, gives further proof of his main interests.

Like all good story tellers, Jacobson is immediately anxious to secure his characters and their emotions to a quick and viable situation. In fourteen of the fifteen stories here he succeeds. Only the best story tellers are able to merge character and action so closely that one does not so much influence the other as reflect it. Mr. Jacobson is one of the best. The humor and sadness of his stories spring directly and lovingly from his characters and their feelings, from the situations in which they find themselves, and not from something imposed upon them by the author. Yet the personality and control of the writer is always apparent. The reader is aware that these stories are shaped and patterned; they are not true-to-life but true-to-art.

Despite the intensity of his themes and the depth of their development, Mr. Jacobson's range is extremely wide—from the South African *veld* to London coffee houses—and his characterizations varied—African servants, children and adolescents, Jewish businessmen, workers, cab drivers, old men, energetic and "inscrutable" women, *émigrés,* individuals all and still familiar contemporaries. Remarkably enough, he is apparently equally at home in urban as rural settings (I know of no other writer who is), and oddly enough, his older characters are more convincing and affecting than his younger ones.

The title story is the best of all. It is, in fact, a great story. An old, deaf Jewish grandfather, who has always been a misfit and a failure, and who is always trying to run away (not anywhere in particular, just to escape) is finally provided with a keeper—an African tribesman—by his successful and long-suffering son. Together the Zulu and the *zeide* roam the streets of Johannesburg, unable to speak to each other, and yet communicating, objects of ridicule and yet untainted, until the conclusion that is as necessary as it is revealing. It is a story in which several extremely complex relationships and emotions are handled with honesty, directness but not simplicity.

The complexity of emotion in "The Antipodes," in which a woman frees herself from her lover and her own sickness, "The Stranger," in which a man comes to a desolate town to die and then is impersonally raped to death by a Negro servant, and "Stop Thief!," in which a father is brutally defeated by his young son, is brilliantly displayed with both economy and force. If the emotions are not as complex in "Two Women," where two formerly strong men are routed by a mother and daughter, or in "A

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Long Way From London," where a young man acts shamefully before his mother of whom he is ashamed, the final effect is no less convulsive and satisfying for it.

Even in the less successful and slighter stories where Mr. Jacobson's material is not as impressive as his technique, or when he occasionally permits himself to attenuate the action unnecessarily, there are few other writers who can evoke place so vividly or can describe a character so succinctly and finally. Dan Jacobson's stories not only fully bear rereading but actually seem to improve under the burden of renewed concentration. He is not only South Africa's best writer, which may or may not be an invidious distinction, but he is one of the best writers of short fiction anywhere.

To Be a Man

CONVERSATION WITH TOSCANINI. By B. H. Haggin. Doubleday. $4.

By RICHARD L. SCHOENWALD

WHAT WAS the nature of Toscanini's genius? Haggin's excellent book suggests an answer. Toscanini devoted himself with awesome and unflagging zeal to the music the composer had written. He believed that people came to concerts for the composer's music, and not for the stage presence or the gossiped renown of the conductor. He wrung greatness out of the innermost recesses of his being. Constant study in private quiet, and relentless attention to detail in rehearsal, produced miraculous performances.

Haggin's warm and sensitive account of his meetings with Toscanini between 1942 and 1950 forms the first part of his book. The discography which makes up the book's second part contains careful indications for attaining what Haggin regards as the best hearing of Toscanini's records. In another age, one which lacked the technology of recording, only marked scores survived a conductor. Now Toscanini is more than a name. Listeners who want to know his work can turn to discs, and to Haggin's data on how they were made, information gathered during a long career as a critic of live and recorded music.

Describing Toscanini's restoration of works grown virtually unrecognizable through years of routined and careless playing, Haggin quotes Otis Ferguson: they emerged "as fresh and glistening as creation itself." Haggin reports about Toscanini's version of Waldteufel's waltz, *The Skaters*: "When I heard the recording for the first time, Toscanini's plastic modeling of the slow introduction brought tears to my eyes, and I was enchanted by his playing of the waltz itself and these responses don't seem excessive when I listen today."

Haggin repeatedly uses the word "plastic" to indicate what Toscanini effected. That is the right word. Toscanini made the listener feel the score. The structure of the music, all its parts, all its voices, was laid out as clearly and completely as he could manage. Toscanini created for his audience a form they could sense clearly.

Haggin's recollections partly explain how Toscanini built a performance. He had an absolute conviction that he was right. That sureness led to the famous impatience and rages at rehearsals, but when engineers recorded some of these outbursts and he heard them later, he cried out "That's me!" and put his hands over his face. He was cruel to others because he was cruel to himself. He denied that music gave him pleasure; for him it meant only suffering.

Reading Haggin's essay, one wonders whether Toscanini's life held something beyond suffering. He put his blood into his music, as he urged his players to do, but as he gave, he often received. He won superlative performances from himself and from his orchestra. Triumphing together over weakness and imperfection, they showed what men can do. Toscanini remarked to Haggin, about a conductor who delighted in himself as a celebrity, "I am not great man! Is enough to be a man!"

"One of the most powerful reading experiences offered to the public in a long time."
—CHAD WALSH,
N. Y. Herald Tribune

DEATH IN THAT GARDEN

A novel by
José André Lacour
Trans. by Humphrey Hare

Mr. Walsh continues: "Sin and sanctity, damnation and salvation, are here dramatized in a story that moves with steady intensity in its own right, and Mr. Lacour has achieved the near-miracle of making salvation as interesting and convincing as its opposite."

Thomas F. Cassidy, in The Commonweal: "Remarkable and compelling . . . a scorching violent exploration into a literal and spiritual jungle. It is astonishing in its power, shocking in impact, but tender and moving as the love it describes — an outstanding work written with ferocity and daring . . . The artistry of the Belgian Lacour is a great one."

The Minneapolis Sunday Tribune: "This novel is adventure of a high order . . . beautifully written."

* * * *Many other reviews are equally enthusiastic. Whether you read DEATH IN THAT GARDEN as a tale of adventure, as a literary masterpiece, or as a story of man's search for love and brotherhood, you'll find it one of the outstanding novels of the season.*

$3.95 at all bookstores.

RINEHART & CO., INC.
New York 16

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Educational

MAINE

St. Francis College

Conducted by the Franciscan Fathers. Small 4-year liberal arts college for men. B.A. degree. Majors in 5 fields. Organized sports: basketball, soccer, baseball, tennis; swimming, boating on Maine Coast. Two hours from Boston. Tuition, board and room: $1215. Catalog. Director of Admissions, 592 Pool St., Biddeford, Maine.

INDIANA

Saint Mary's College Notre Dame

Conducted by Sisters of the Holy Cross. Fully accredited Liberal Arts College for Women. Courses leading to degrees of Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Music, Bachelor of Science. Liberal Arts; Home Ec.; Teaching; Commerce; Music. Inter-departmental major in Christian Culture. Graduate Department of Sacred Theology. Address: Box 71, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana.

NEW JERSEY

Delbarton School

Morristown, New Jersey. An hour's drive from the George Washington Bridge or Holland Tunnel. A country day and boarding school for boys conducted by Benedictine Monks. Six forms, comprising the 7th and 8th grades and four years of college preparatory courses. Small classes. Thorough guidance department. Complete athletic program. Write for prospectus to the Headmaster.

Saint Mary-of-the-Woods College

Campus tradition of charm and friendliness since 1840. An accredited college; B.A., B.S., B.F.A. degrees. Music, art, secretarial training, journalism, home economics, teaching, speech and radio. Interesting cultural, athletic, social programs. Well-equipped buildings. Catalog.

BOX 109, SAINT MARY-OF-THE-WOODS, INDIANA

LA SALLE Military Academy

Foremost Catholic military preparatory school under Christian Brothers. Accredited college preparation. Grades 9-12. Small classes. ROTC highest rating. Beautiful 160-acre campus on Great South Bay. 76th year.

Write for Catalog.
Box W, Oakdale, L.I., New York

ART

Gauguin: A Link to the Present

IN HIS BOOK *Before and After* Gauguin says that "the artist is not born all in one piece. It is much, if he adds a new link to the chain." This statement is generally applicable, but it has a particular and moving application to Paul Gauguin. There is a heart-rending incoherence about Gauguin; between Gauguin, the man torn by conflicting desires, and Gauguin the artist, who pursued an ideal of expression with ardent and careful zeal, there was always tension. It is particularly and peculiarly true of him that he was not, as man or artist, "born all in one piece."

His famous act of leaving a Paris stockbroker's life at the age of thirty-five and later leaving (rather more reluctantly) his wife and five children to dedicate himself wholly to painting, has all the appearance of bold and decisive resolution. In reality it was fraught with confused hopes and a deep conflict between his affections and his brash egotism. Even his flight to the South Seas was as much a search for a place where one could live "for nothing" (a doomed hope) as for a place where he could paint refreshed and inspired by the primitive life of the Maoris. An inheritor of the posture of Rousseau, a man for whom the "primitive" and the "good" had a mystical affinity, Gauguin realized his second hope, and in Tahiti and the Marquesas his painting took on a calm, monumental, harmonious aspect with a mysterious lyrical quality that overpowers the viewer.

As for being a "new link in a chain," it was the "newness" of Gauguin (for example, his flat color rimmed by strong line) which seemed paramount in his own time and which perhaps kept him from that public success that he so desperately desired. That he was a "link" there can be no doubt. Like the other Post-Impressionists he reacted from the diffuseness of the Impressionists, and through his symbolism and decorative composition he harked back to Puvis de Chavannes, the Japanese, and Romanesque and Cambodian art. His connection with the future was through his fervent color and line: his progeny were the Nabis and the Fauves, and later, with Van Gogh, he shared in the development of the Expressionists.

Gauguin's connections with the past and future are underlined in the arrangement of the large retrospective jointly assembled by the Art Institute of Chicago and the Metropolitan Museum. At the Metropolitan, where the exhibition is at present, one room is turned over to a diagrammatic display of "influences" of one sort or another. However, once you enter the rooms filled with the Gauguin paintings they assert a captivating authority of their own.

First of all one is struck by the emotional impact of the color, and Gauguin's statement that color has, like music, the "power of evoking . . . nature's interior force" seems fully realized. In an early Breton work, *The Yellow Christ,* a strong unnatural color dominates the simplified outlines to create a striking if rather poster-like effect. *Ia Orana Maria* (I Greet Thee Mary) is an early Tahitian work that has a decorative tapestry look, sparkling with morning-fresh colors that light the wealth of detail and fill the Maori scene with an atmosphere of gentle joyfulness. *Horsemen on the Beach,* a late painting done in the Marquesas, has rhythmically spaced outlined forms on a ground of fiery sunset-pink that gives off a dynamic glow.

In the most recent book about Gauguin Robert Goldwater says that Gauguin's symbolism "opposes both the literal and the literary. In

REVIEWERS

Father Bernard G. Murchland, C.S.C. is associated with Fides Publishers and an editor of *Apostolic Perspectives*.

Robert Gutwillig, a novelist, is on the staff of a large New York publishing house.

Richard L. Schoenwald is a member of the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their stead he proposes mystery and suggestion"; or, as Charles Estienne says, "his painting is a musical poem . . . that has no need of a libretto." The most famous example of this strain in Gauguin's art is *Where Do We Come From? Who Are We? Where Are We Going?*

In this picture, in André Breton's phrase, Gauguin "has reeled off the human predicament": one sees writhing tree-shapes and shadows behind golden bodies in graceful attitudes, all transfixed in the dark hues of a mysterious earthly paradise. It is a work in which individual passages are eloquent, and the whole composition is a "reel" of "stills" held together by the color and decorative pattern: on the extreme right is a baby; on the extreme left an old woman; in the center a Dante-and-Beatrice-like couple wreathed in a cloud of self-absorption, balance a rather incongruously explicit idol, symbol of the primitive tradition. The idol seems to me not only literal and literary, but disquieting visually.

The beautiful painting entitled *Maternity* is less grand in scope but it is a more integral instance of Gauguin's "musical poems" with its calm monumentality, sensuous color and bold decorative line expressing "fruitfulness" without literary symbols. An earlier Tahitian work *The Spirit of the Dead Watching* also breathes mystery and suggestion in conveying a more specific message: the fearful awareness of the youthful nude lying stiffly on her bed that a threatening presence lurks in the background.

The dual threads of classicism and romanticism that run through the cultural history of France may be said to achieve a sort of coexistence in the art of Paul Gauguin. In this sense, too, he may be said to be "not all in one piece." His vocabulary (color and line) has a romantic dynamism, while the decorative compositions of his mature style attain a monumental calm that is classical in atmosphere and produce that "harmonie Raphaelique" typical of the Maoris that Gauguin himself wrote of with such admiration.

BETTY KAUFMAN.

Classified

• RATES: $1 a line, or 6 words, 2-line minimum. Discounts: 3 times, 5%; 7 times, 10%; 13 times, 15%. Payable in advance. DISPLAY: $10.78 per inch, same discounts.

Irish Books and Gifts

• Books, Linens, Gifts, Catalogs. IRISH INDUSTRIES DEPOT, INC. 870 Lexington Ave., (near 65th) New York

Chesterton and Belloc

• All Chesterton's and Belloc's Books 250 Titles, Free Catalogue. Prosser, 3118 N. Keating, Chicago 41, Ill.

Handmade Wedding Bands

• HANDMADE LITURGICAL WEDDING BANDS. Renard A. Koehnemann, P.O. Box 575, Chesterton, Indiana.

Free Lance Writing

• WRITING ASSIGNMENTS WANTED. Former Diocesan editor, labor & religious reporter. N.Y. interviews & events covered. Will travel. STANLEY VISHNEWSKI, 469 Bloomingdale Rd., Staten Island 9, N.Y.

Translation Service

• BOOKS TRANSLATED: German, Russian, Scandinavian. NELLES TRANSLATIONS, 119 W. Ontario St., Chicago 10, Ill.

Work Wanted

• MAN, SINGLE, 44. Diversified military, industrial, teaching background. Would like contacts relative to employment such as: editor's or publisher's assistant (reader); American-English language teacher in correspondence school or diocesan seminary; feature writer, periodicals. Middlewest. Available mid-June. Copious references. JOHN EDWARD HOGAN, Box 220, Larimore, North Dakota.

Teacher Wanted

• EASTERN CATHOLIC COLLEGE seeks man for teaching position in Economics. Prefer Ph.D. or all work completed except dissertation. Write Box 529, THE COMMONWEAL.

For the best in Religious Art

Write for free Art Catalogue

ST. BENET SHOP
Department C
300 South Wabash Avenue
Chicago 4, Illinois

CHANGE OF ADDRESS

SUBSCRIBERS are requested to return the address portion from a Commonweal wrapper showing the subscriber's current address, in sending in a new address. Be sure to include zone number in new address. Allow three weeks for change to take effect.

A Point of View

People who read, periodicals that quote, and well-known authors who write for The Commonweal appear to be most interested in the magazine because of its point of view. They also look forward to the varied comment of such authors as Frederick Wilhelmsen, Maryvonne Butcher, John Cogley, Martin Turnell and Thomas Molnar, whose articles are to appear in these pages in coming weeks.

This is a good opportunity to send for a trial subscription.

SPECIAL INTRODUCTORY OFFER

THE COMMONWEAL, 386 Fourth Ave., New York 16, N. Y.

Enclosed is $2. Please send the next 13 issues to:

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

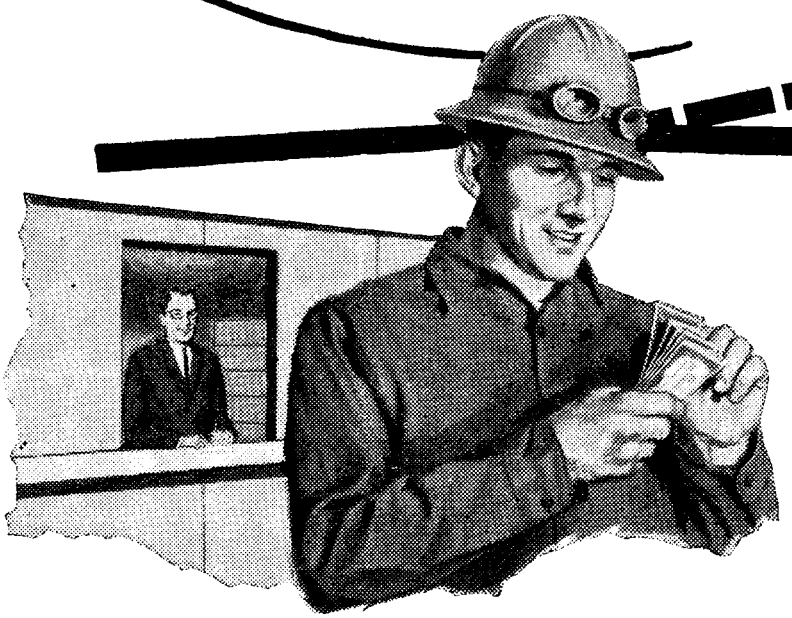
CITY .....ZONE.....STATE.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

288%

INCREASE

in steelworkers' wages and benefits in 18 years



30% increase in shipments per man-hour worked

Steelworkers' wages and employment benefits paid for by their employers have increased 288 percent in the last 18 years.

Earnings of the men who make steel are at the top level for all industry.

Also those steelworkers' earnings have increased *faster* than the average workers'.

But shipments of finished steel products per man-hour worked have not increased at any such pace—even with the help of billions of dollars worth of improved equipment and processes installed by the steel companies. In the last 18 years steel shipments per man-hour worked have gone up only 30 percent.

Unfortunately this tremendous and growing gap between shipments and wages is *inflation.*

The big job for everybody is to help close the gap, not widen it. Until that is done nobody can win the fight against inflation.

This message is being brought to you by

REPUBLIC STEEL

because

INFLATION ROBS US ALL

REPUBLIC STEEL makes the world's widest range of standard steels and steel products. This diversity of products is so great it touches every industry and every person. Republic is a major supplier of pig iron for foundries; of alloy bars for the forging industry, of sheet and strip steels for the appliance, automobile, air conditioning, and heating industries. Republic also manufactures a wide range of products bought directly by the public: bolts, nuts, and nails; woven wire fence and barbed wire; windows, doors, and other building materials for houses and non-residential construction. Republic's management operates a continuous program to produce better steels and develop better products from steel.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED